



TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

«NEW ZEALAND AND AMERICAN ENGLISH: COMPARING THEIR ORIGINS AND LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT»

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GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Curso Académico: 2020-21

Fecha de Presentación: 27/05/2021



FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS

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Abstract

The following paper presents a comparison between New Zealand and American English through a diachronic and synchronic study of each territory in terms of settlement, melting pot, origins and subsequent development of the transplanted English, national identity and vocabulary. It also attempts to demonstrate the point to which these former colonies have distanced themselves from the model of Great Britain.

Keywords: New Zealand English, American English, settlement, national identity, colonies, Great Britain

Resumen

El siguiente trabajo presenta una comparación entre el Inglés Neozelandés y Americano a través de un estudio diacrónico y sincrónico de cada territorio en cuanto a asentamiento, crisol de culturas, orígenes y posterior desarrollo del Inglés trasplantado, identidad nacional y vocabulario. También intenta demostrar hasta qué punto estas antiguas colonias se han distanciado del modelo de Gran Bretaña.

Palabras Clave: Inglés Neozelandés, Inglés Americano, asentamiento, identidad nacional, colonias, Gran Bretaña

1. INTRODUCTION

English is currently considered as the international language employed to communicate between people from all parts of the world. It is also used as the official language in international assemblies, congresses and other main events. The success of the English language was due to its expansion since the seventeenth century which continued around the globe, leading to the rise of the British Empire. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to analyse two of the many colonies that Great Britain used to possess: New Zealand and North America. More specifically, we are going to make a study of comparison about how the British model was transplanted in both territories as regards settlement, melting pot, origins and development of the English that was established, nationalism and vocabulary. Moreover, we will explore to which point these two territories differed from the model of Great Britain.

It is also relevant to highlight that the structure and methodology we are going to follow for this paper will cover the following points. First of all, we will carry out a diachronic analysis of each territory in terms of the early settlement until the end of the 19th century, the melting pot of people who arrived to each territory, the roots and development of the English that was established there as well as the sense of national identity which arose in each colony. In this sense, we will firstly proceed to analyse the transplantation of English in New Zealand. Then, we will do the same with the case of North America. Secondly, we will go over the similarities and differences between these two varieties of English discussing the different points mentioned above. Furthermore, we will also make a comparison between the influences of other non-English languages on the vocabulary of both varieties of English. Finally, in the conclusion we will show the results of the comparison between these two varieties of English in order to exhibit the differences found between New Zealand and American English and to discern how far New Zealand and North America (nowadays the United States) have distanced themselves from the British model.

1.1. The spread of English: diasporas and its international repercussions

During the Elizabethan reign in the 16th century, the number of English speakers were only five million. However, the English language is spoken by almost two billion people

around the world nowadays. According to Jenkins, while in the sixteenth century the quantity of people who spoke in English was relatively small, “it is now spoken in almost every country of the world” (2), even though for the majority of those speakers English is not their first language.

This expansion of the English language that now has a worldwide repercussion started during Shakespeare’s lifetime through two main diasporas: the first one including “migrations of [...] English speakers [...] predominantly to North America, Australia and New Zealand.” (Jenkins 6); and the second diaspora which involved the migration of English natives towards Africa and Asia. The success of the transplantation of the English language throughout the world may be due to its flexibility and willingness to accept new words that would increasingly enrich its vocabulary.

We could say that the English language shows greater qualities over the rest of languages in the world primarily because of the wide range of words it contains as a result of borrowing words from many different languages, either from native languages such as the Indians (in the case of North America) or Maori (in New Zealand) or they took them from other colonisers such as Spain, Netherlands or France during the period of colonisation. This idea that English was willing to receive new terms rather than the rest of languages was employed to assert that the language of the British Isles was more democratic whereas the rest of European languages were not (Jenkins 187). In this sense, the conception of English as a language which accepted many loanwords from many other languages portrayed the openness of the people from the UK as well as their democratic nature at receiving new terms, thus serving as a defence against those who tried to be against the expansion of English.

However, Jenkins herself has questioned this democratic tolerance when borrowing words while intermingling with the colonised people. The reason is because according to some scholars she quotes in her work, they stated that in some cases the racial and cultural “superiority” of British people made them less open to take terms from the language of the colonised. Hence, she concludes that if the English tended to co-exist with the colonised people like the case of the native Americans, “it is unlikely that the English language was in fact such an open borrowing language as is claimed.” (188).

Considering that we are going to analyse the case of how the English language was transplanted in both New Zealand and North America, these two territories belong to the Inner Circle according to linguist Kachru in his three-circle model of World Englishes. He divides the spread of English “into three concentric circles, the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle.” (Jenkins 14). The Inner Circle, whose spoken English was considered to be the English language which develops the norms in those countries and then it expands outwards, deals with the language which moved from Great Britain in the first dispersal to other countries whose native language was the English. This was the case of the United States and New Zealand, apart from Ireland, Canada and Australia.

2. NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH

We shall proceed to analyse the arrival of the first English settlers to New Zealand, how this territory became part of the British Crown and formed its variety of English due to the different periods of settlement which caused a melting pot in this territory until the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, we will talk about the first sense of nationhood which made New Zealand to move from being a British colony to becoming a self-ruling dominion.

2.1. Historical Background: first arrival of English and settlement

The origins of New Zealand English have to be very much related, as it is obvious, to the history of immigration to New Zealand. Logically, most of the immigrants were from Britain, but in order to know the dialectical background of this new variety of English, we have to determine what part of the British Isles (England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland) these immigrants came from. It is also important to highlight Australia’s role, since the majority of the immigrants who came to New Zealand had previously lived there or at least stayed for a period of time in Australian soil before they finally moved to New Zealand.

Moreover, there was another problem regarding the historical background of the English settlement in New Zealand. According to Gordon et al., there has been some lack of information regarding the precedence of the first settlers to the territory (37). Even so, researchers managed to look for other sources like shipping records in order to discover the

precedence of the early immigrants, which were mainly from Scotland, England and Ireland. Furthermore, the settlement of the territory was not equal, since parts of New Zealand were more inhabited than others.

On the one hand, the ancestors of the Maori arrived in New Zealand a few centuries before any European settler arrived there (Gordon et al. 38). On the other hand, Warren states that the initial contact with English in New Zealand occurred when Captain James Cook came to the territory for the first time during 1769 and attempted to lay claim to New Zealand as a possession of Great Britain (87). However, it wasn't until the 1840s when this territory would form part of the British Isles. Fifty years after the arrival of the first settlers, a large group of people from Great Britain entered the territory so as to establish their enterprises from their bases in Sydney (Australia). By 1839, there were about 2000 non-native inhabitants who lived in New Zealand, a territory that Great Britain didn't acquire as a colonial possession yet (Gordon et al. 38).

Nevertheless, the British-Maori Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 gave Britain a colonial administration which was limited at first but which would later gain authoritative power over the territory, "and opened the way for more organised migration directly from Britain, which increased dramatically over subsequent years." (Warren 87). Even so, part of the immigrants travelled from colony to colony until they finally reached New Zealand, also known as "Step Migration" (Gordon et al. 40) in which most of them came to the latter colony through Australia. We have to keep this fact in mind since it may be one of the main causes which led to the formation of New Zealand English.

Since the English-Maori treaty that took place in 1840, four main settlements have taken place. The first was from 1840 to 1852, which was the period of settlement when the largest number of people arrived from Australia, New Zealand company and militia immigrants. The arrival of the New Zealand Company managed by Gibbon Wakefield¹ gave way to what was called "The five Wakefield settlements", which brought around 16,000 settlers to the colony (Gordon et al. 41). According to Phillips, the New Zealand company used pamphlets and

¹ Gibbon Wakefield is considered one of the most important figures in the settlement of New Zealand. He was very much interested in colonising New Zealand, and played a crucial role in the reconstruction of the New Zealand Association which came to be known as the New Zealand Company. For further information see Fairburn.

other propaganda resources in order to persuade British people to go to the new colony, promising that New Zealand was “a fertile land with a benign climate, free of starvation, class war and teeming cities.” (3). As Gordon et al. state, these settlements along with the one established in Auckland composed the base of the six provinces in which New Zealand was divided into through the Act of 1852. In addition, other immigrants came via Australia whose background was mainly Irish, and apart from them, 2000 people approximately also arrived thanks to the military immigrants who settled in Auckland (41).

The second period of settlement between 1853 and 1870 was marked chiefly by two major events. On the one hand, the New Zealand Wars took place in the 1860s in which Maori tribes and European settlers in the North Island became embroiled in conflict. On the other hand, the discovery of gold mines was one of the main causes by which the number of immigrants coming to New Zealand dramatically increased (Gordon et al. 42). The same authors also claim that in 1850, there were around 22,000 Europeans who had arrived in the colony. However, due to the gold rush which started in Otago in 1861 and allowed economic and social stability to the settlements, a significant influx of immigrants began to arrive in New Zealand soil (41-42). Moreover, they state that these new settlers came to the colony in massive numbers through Australia, including a number of Catholics with Irish roots (42). Hence, by 1870 the total population was approximately 250,000 Europeans (41).

The third period between 1871 and 1880 saw the highest number of immigrants who came to the colony. According to Bauer, 1874 was the year when it reached its highest point of immigration with the notable quantity of 26,000 newcomers that arrived in New Zealand from the British Isles (*English in New Zealand* 386). Furthermore, Gordon et al. mention that by the time the colony had its own government, navy, markets, qualified universities and, from 1877, a system of compulsory primary education. It is also important to emphasise the role of Julius Vogel, a treasurer who thanks to the sums of money acquired from the British Empire was able to carry out public works such as the construction of roads and underground railways (43). As a result, the number of European population in New Zealand was 256,000 in 1872 and by 1881 it increased to 500,000 inhabitants (39).

Finally, in the last period of settlement between 1881 and 1900 New Zealand faced an economic depression that caused a loss of its attraction as a destination for migrants (Gordon et al. 43). Additionally, the rise of Australia's economy caused many New Zealanders to travel there. According to Phillips, the difficult economic situation of New Zealand provoked a rejection towards newcomers who were not British. This led to an Anti-immigrant legislation that took place around the 1890s. However, New Zealand's economy eventually picked up again at the end of the century, resulting in a new influx of immigrants, including those from Australia, India and Lebanon (10).

2.2. The Melting Pot in New Zealand

So far we have seen that during the 19th century New Zealand welcomed a large number of immigrants. According to Hay et al., “the vast majority of migrants to New Zealand came from the British Isles” (6). But the question now is where exactly they came from. We remarked that the records regarding the early settlement of New Zealand by the British consisted mainly in shipping records, but these did not contain the place of birth of the settlers. However, Gordon et al. state that when the first settlement of Wellington by the New Zealand Company took place, “there was one ship from Glasgow, but all the rest of the people [...] came from London” (43). This makes us indicate that the majority of the immigrants came from that place. Even so, this does not mean that all the people from those ships would live in London, as they were from other parts which were near that city. Bauer claims that the majority of the early immigrants to New Zealand belonged to the South-East of England and London as well (*English in New Zealand* 421).

According to the New Zealand census of 1871, it shows that of the total percentage of immigrants to this new colony, 51% were English, 27% were Scottish and 22% Irish (Gordon et al. 44). As for the English, they came mostly from London, South-East, South West and Lancashire. The Scots who came to New Zealand were mainly from the Lowlands (48). Irish immigrants who travelled to the territory were mostly from the Ulster and Munster areas. With regards to immigrants of Irish origin, Gordon et al. state that many of them decided to travel initially to Australia principally due to the Irish Famine that occurred from 1845 to 1848 (49). Although migration of people from Ireland was not as extensive in New Zealand as

in Australia, “many Irish arrived at the time of the goldrushes; significant numbers were in the North Island militia, and many more came via Australia.” (49).

Regarding the location of migrants from England, Scotland and Ireland in New Zealand, Gordon et al. declare that “Wellington, New Plymouth, and Canterbury provinces were dominated by the English because of their New Zealand Company origins” (51). On the other hand, Scottish immigrants settled mainly in Otago and Southland, while the Irish settled in Nelson and Westland.

It is also relevant to highlight that there were other migrants who came from other non-British countries, as it was the case of Scandinavian, German or Chinese miners who arrived in New Zealand to take advantage of the gold rush in the 1860s (Phillips 7). However, this author asserts that despite the arrival of people who did not belong to the British Isles “Yet both in ethnicity and identity New Zealand remained overwhelmingly British” (10).

Once the early colonists settled, New Zealand English developed due to the contact of different waves of immigrants from Great Britain and their variants of English. Moreover, the development of New Zealand English will also be conditioned by social factors such as the improvement in transport and mobility towards New Zealand which allowed many more people to come, the role of social classes and the close contact with Great Britain and Australia (Gordon et al. 53).

2.3. Origins and development of New Zealand English

There are no clear explanations with respect to the origins of the formation of New Zealand English. Nevertheless, there are three main theories which try to explain the source of this new variety of English that have been exposed and argued by some scholars: New Zealand English as a Cockney dialect, as a result from the dialect mixture of the early settlers or as a dialect of Australian English. (Bauer, *Origins of NZ English* 1).

With respect to Cockney as the explanation for the origin of New Zealand English, this seems to be very unlikely since some scholars have stated that in the early settlement of the

colony the number of people from London were very little. In his chapter of book *English in New Zealand*, Bauer notes:

While large numbers of New Zealand immigrants in the early period of European settlement were from the south-east of England, including London, there is little, if any, evidence that they were Cockneys. Indeed, what we know of their social class suggests not only that they were not Cockneys, but that they would have despised a Cockney accent. (421)

In this sense, the option of Cockney as being the origin of New Zealand English is most probably not to be the most reasonable one since there is a lack of evidence when knowing if the people who came from London were really Cockneys and because the vast majority of these seemed to repudiate that English accent.

Most scholars have reached a conclusion about the origins of this variety of English which is that they agree that New Zealand English most likely owes its roots thanks to the blending of the various English dialects. On the one hand, Bauer in his paper research *Origins of NZ English* concludes that “New Zealand English arises largely from the mixture of Englishes brought in by the early settlers to New Zealand” (3). On the other hand, Warren states that despite all these early migrations from different parts of the British Isles and Australia to New Zealand bringing their own dialect, New Zealand English “has evolved as a highly homogeneous variety” (88).

This final outcome which results in a linguistically uniform variety is strongly influenced by the South-East English dialect. Bauer assures that it is clearly obvious that the English spoken in New Zealand is a derivation of the English accent from the south-eastern England (391). He also claims that on a phonological level, this new variety of English is a variation of the South-East English phonological system (388). Moreover, Gordon et al. also reach to the conclusion that New Zealand English “owes much to south-eastern English English” (256).

Now the question is how the features of the Southern English dialect influenced and formed the basis of this new variety of English. According to Gordon et al., this English dialect could have come to New Zealand in different ways, although it is not clear how it

came about. Firstly, they could have come through the first settlers to the territory or the masses of immigrants who came years later. Secondly, they could have come from Australia, since Australian English shows many characteristics of this English dialect. Thus, they believed that New Zealand English is a derivation from Australian English because the latter was so much influenced by the South-East and London English dialects (256). However, we have to take into account the fact that many of the early immigrants to New Zealand arrived in Australia first, and they even stayed for a long period of time before travelling to New Zealand. Finally, Hay et al. talks about the impossibility of the roots of New Zealand English as a transplanted Australian English dialect:

The difficulty with the ‘transported Australian English’ argument is that settlement figures show that only around 7 per cent of the early New Zealand settlers were born in Australia and that New Zealand was settled almost entirely from the British Isles. While this rules out an Australian ‘language planting’ explanation, it still allows for an Australian influence. (86)

Moreover, there are other possibilities in which south-eastern English features could have had a relevant presence in New Zealand English. One option could be that the features of south-eastern English could have been chosen at the time of the formation of this new dialect because of the number of South-East English speakers who outnumbered the ones with other dialects, namely Scottish and Irish (Gordon et al. 75).

In conclusion, New Zealand English is most likely to have its origins in the dialect mixture of early settlers of Great Britain, whose result was a strongly homogeneous variety of English linguistically speaking that has received a relevant influence from the South-East English dialect (Bauer 391; Gordon et al. 256; Warren 88). It is also relevant to highlight Australia’s role in the early formation of this new variety of English. Even though it was believed that New Zealand English could have been a transplanted dialect of Australian English, the reality is that the influence of the south-eastern English played a more crucial impact on the development of New Zealand English. Despite the fact that the majority of the early settlers came to New Zealand via Australia, Bauer remarks that their phonetic and phonological traits belonged to a distinctly English variety, namely the South-East English dialect (388).

2.4. The first sense of nationhood: John Ballance

After the periods of settlement that took place from the mid-19th century to the end of that epoch and the establishment of a new variety of English which owes its roots to the South-East English dialect, there started to arise a sense of nationalism mainly owing to a number of reasons. Firstly, we have to consider that due to the discovery of gold mines the economic situation improved significantly. According to Gordon et al., the gold rush occurred in Otago in 1861 and, even though the low quantity of gold that was found in comparison to the ones in California or Australia, it ensured the stability of the settlements (42). Secondly, these same authors also state that the construction of railways and a new system of roads promoted by the treasurer Julius Vogel increased commerce with Australia and thus boosted the economy of the territory (43). Moreover, the continuous successful achievements in sports such as rugby with its famous “haka”² also impulsed the nationalist spirit of New Zealand.

But the most important reason which led to this sense of nationhood was the fact that the number of Europeans who had been born in New Zealand was higher than the number of those who arrived in the colony as immigrants, an idea that scholars like Blyth et al. agree with. On the one hand, Hay et al. claim that “At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a developing sense of national identity in New Zealand.” (6). On the other hand, Blyth et al. state in his article called *New Zealand* that a number of inhabitants from New Zealand were beginning to see themselves as a new nation at the end of the nineteenth century.

It is also significant to remark that the most relevant figure who stood up for New Zealand identity and nation was Premier John Ballance. According to Gordon et al., he was one of the personalities who tried to maintain the territory as independent from the Australian federation, since at the end of the nineteenth century there was a serious attempt of New Zealand to join together with Australia (62). These same authors quote from Sinclair a nationalist speech by John Ballance in favour of New Zealand’s independence position from Australia:

² Haka is a war chant typical from New Zealand which has its origins in the culture of Maori tribes. It is danced in groups, following a series of energetic movements accompanied with a peculiar yelling. The haka performance by New Zealand’s national rugby team has made its shout to be recognised all over the world. For more details, please see Cunningham.

We have been an individualised nation, and we should keep up our identity and nationality. I think we ought to have a nationality, and that New Zealand should be a country for New-Zealanders. (62)

In short, the role of John Ballance in order to stand up for New Zealand nationalism and independence contributed to the territory to move from a colony which belonged to Great Britain into a “self-governing ‘dominion.’” (Hay et al. 7). Even though this independence was only political from Australia, the situation changed when talking about Great Britain, since John Ballance assured that they did not need to ask for any help from any country or territory other than the English mother country. For this reason, New Zealand kept maintaining a strong loyalty and connection with the British Crown at the end of the 19th century due the improvement of the transportation of frozen meat and wool towards Britain (Gordon et al. 65).

Hence, we are able to observe that at the end of the nineteenth century New Zealand preserved its bonds with the British metropolis mainly because most of the agricultural, livestock and textile products as well as immigration who arrived there came from British territory and the culture which developed stemmed from Great Britain.

3. AMERICAN ENGLISH

Next, we will explore the roots of American English through its early settlements that took place from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the nineteenth century as we have done before with the case of New Zealand. Then, we will go over the melting pot that was produced as a consequence of the large number of immigrants (mainly from the British Isles but also from other European locations) and the subsequent development of this new variety of English. In fact, some national figures such as Noah Webster started to see it as different from the language of the mother country, especially from the moment when North America claimed politically, economically and linguistically its autonomy from Great Britain. This was made through the Declaration of Independence occurred in 1776 by which North America came to be known as the Unites States of America.

3.1. Settlement

In order to understand the roots and the development of the American English, we will focus chiefly on the early British settlements (from the early 17th century until the end of 19th century) which introduced their English dialect and set the basis for American English. The early establishment by English pioneers in America is going to be divided into three periods of immigration with its respective regions: the Thirteen Colonies which cover the New England and Mid-Atlantic Settlement, the Middle West and the Far West (Fennell 210).

After some attempts to settle in American soil, the first permanent settlement was established in Jamestown (Virginia), 1607 (Finegan, *English in North America* 384). After that, several others followed the path of the first settlers, which was in this case a group of Pilgrims on board of the Mayflower ship also known as the Pilgrim Fathers and settled in Plymouth (Massachusetts) around 1620. The pilgrims arrived in America in order to look for religious freedom (McCrum et al. 117).

The arrival of the puritans constituted the first great settlement in North America in what was known as the New England Settlement. Finegan claims that this period of immigration was the first one in which approximately 20,000 English middle-upper class people came to America and set up around Massachusetts between 1629 and 1640 (*English in North America* 386). A few years later, the number of immigrants increased to almost 25,000 and from this point on, some of these pioneers decided to move up and downwards because of the ambition to search for more liberties and acquire new lands (Baugh and Cable 333). Therefore, from Massachusetts Bay they founded Connecticut in 1634 following the subsequent occupation of the coastal areas such as Rhode Island and Maine. On the other hand, New Hampshire's settlement was not as easy as the former ones "because of the greater resistance by the Native Americans." (333).

Regarding the main second period of migration from the British Isles to American soil, Fennell claims that The Mid-Atlantic settlement was very different from that of New England due to its mixture of linguistic and religious groups of settlers who arrived in America (211). As previously discussed, Virginia was the initial location where the first settlers of Britain

came to North America for the first time ever. Nevertheless, it was not until the period between 1640 and 1675 when the colony of Virginia started to be occupied by a high number of migrants. Around 40,000 workers and servants left the British Isles and went to America in order to establish in Virginia between those years (Finegan, *English in North America* 386).

As Fennell notes, most of the migrants who settled the colony of Virginia were chiefly south-eastern speakers whose main dialect was, obviously, South-East English, even though there were other dialects from the West of England. As it happened with New England, the colonisers pushed to the part of the South and established North Carolina and South Carolina. The first one welcomed a large number of people coming from Germany and Scotland mainly while the second one received a huge influx of religious groups such as Quakers, Irish Catholics and Baptists as well as linguistic ethnicities like Welsh, English, Irish, Dutch and Germans (211).

Despite the mingling of population from other European countries, this did not seem to happen with the cases of Maryland and New Jersey. On the one hand, Fennell claims that Maryland was mostly settled by English migrants but eventually it would be occupied by Germans and Scottish who had Irish roots (211). On the other hand, New Jersey continued to be a colony mainly inhabited by English residents. Around 1660, English pioneers claimed New York from the Dutch, which justifies why this city was mixed from Dutch and English, and years later received the arrival of Germans. Finally, Pennsylvania was another of the colonies which was filled up by a mixture of immigrants whose countries of origin were from Germany, Scotland, Wales and England (211).

Since the original Thirteen Colonies have extended its limits beyond the eastern seaboard, the colonists started to expand towards the Middle West whose settlement founded the state of Ohio, largely occupied by inhabitants from the Thirteen Colonies (Fennell 213). Furthermore, Kentucky was occupied overwhelmingly by people coming from the Mid Atlantic settlement, and Scots Irish people together with slaves coming from Africa populated other places such as Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee (213). In addition, Fennell notes that the original population who constituted Michigan and Winsconsin were from the New England settlement. However, during the 19th century these territories became

the destination of a large quantity of German and Scandinavian people (214). Moreover, Louisiana contemplated a mixing of residents who were from France, England and Scotland.

The Purchase of Louisiana that took place in 1803 made possible the arrival of more migrants not only from the British Isles but also from other parts of Europe to America. Hence, early settlements spread towards the Far West where the colonists followed the path towards Oregon (Fennell 214). This location was settled by speakers of the English language belonging to Ohio and Tennessee in 1843 and a later occupation of Scandinavians. As a result, Baugh and Cable state that the number of people who lived in that territory was around 30,000 in 1860. Moreover, they also claim that most of its inhabitants “had come up from Missouri [...], from Kentucky and Tennessee; the other half were largely of New England” (335). Additionally, Texas, which had been occupied by Spanish speakers, was now mixed with English-speaking people who came from the Middle West territories like Mississippi, Tennessee or Kentucky. Finally, Fennell remarks that another relevant phenomenon which extended the settlement to the deep west of America was the Gold Rush of California in 1848, which made that a number of English speakers (250,000 approximately) settle there (215).

3.2. The Melting Pot in North America

In the first ever census of North America (now called the United States) which took place around the 1790s, the population of the continent was around 4 million (Finegan, *English in North America* 392). Ten years later, the population extended to the Mississippi river and grew a million more, including a number of slaves whose origin was from Africa. Nevertheless, Finegan states that “By 1850 the population swelled to 23 million and ten years later to 31 million, including nearly 4 million slaves and 4 million foreign-born free persons.” (*English in North America* 392). Furthermore, the population around 1880 numbered over 50 million spread all over the American territory. The majority of these residents were born in Ireland (1.8 million), Scotland (163,000) England or Wales (around 700,000). Finally, in his chapter of book called *English in North America* Finegan talks about the rest of immigrants who did not belong to the British Isles but from other parts around the globe:

There were also 1.9 million German-born residents, mostly in Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and New York, while from Sweden and Norway had come 350,000 immigrants. Spurred by the need for workers on the transcontinental railroad, nearly 75,000 Chinese-born immigrants lived in California. That state also had 9,000 Mexican-born residents, while Texas had 43,000. (392)

The main reasons which explain the influx of a massive quantity of immigrants who came from not only Great Britain but also other places were the results of revolution and famine in Europe during the nineteenth century (Baugh and Cable 331). On the one hand, most of the Irish people fled towards American soil because of the Great Famine that occurred in 1845, as we mentioned earlier. On the other hand, Germans ran away from their homelands in order to avoid the effects of the failure of the 1848 revolutions (Fennell 214). As a result of this huge influx of immigrants to American territory, it became a dynamic and versatile country always on the move. Since many of these people arrived in America so as to escape from oppression and poverty, they wanted to start a refreshed life and so they tried new ways of living and prospering (Fennell 218).

In conclusion, the melting pot which took place in North America from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century gave the new country a sense of vividness and energetic identity. Subsequently, the American English started to differentiate from the British one which seemed to be more conservative at that time.

3.3. Origins and development of American English

The variety of English that was introduced in North America was the one from the Early Modern period, specifically that of the South-East of England since the majority of early immigrants came from that region (Fennell 210). Despite the subsequent pioneering settlements' spread throughout the wide territory of North America previously commented, one of the most salient features of this new English variety which started to become unique from the language of the mother country was its striking linguistic homogeneity, as noted by some scholars (Fennell 216; Baugh and Cable 336-337). Another prominent characteristic which is now typical of American English is its archaism. That is to say, the English spoken in America has maintained some linguistic features that have been disused in England's speech (Baugh and Cable 340). The clearest example of this is the rhoticity or pronunciation of the /r/

sound after a vowel, which has been preserved in America because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English of Great Britain (concretely the South-East of England) was rhotic. Nonetheless, south-eastern English eventually became /r/-less at the end of the 18th century (Baugh and Cable 340) and because of the Colonial Lag³, it was too late to influence the speech of the people who had already been living in America for a long time.

The development of this new English variety was produced as a result of several causes that made American English differentiate from the language spoken in the British Isles. Fennell states that these reasons were mainly four: the huge geographical distance between America and Great Britain, the settlers' adaptation to the new geographic characteristics found in the North American territory, the significant influence of not only American natives but also other non-English languages that were spoken within North America on the English and the rise of American nationalism promoted by Noah Webster (217). This last reason will be developed in a deeper way in the next section.

Firstly, one of the main reasons which explains why American English differed rapidly from British English since the early settlements was the physical distance between these two places (Fennell 217). At those times, the only way to travel there was by ship and it took around almost three months to arrive in America from England. However, this was not the only kind of separation between these two territories since there was also a divergence in their attitudes towards mobility. Fennell argues that the America has been historically a country of change, innovation and dynamism, with a huge influx of immigrants who attempted to run away from poor economic situations or political and religious prosecutions in order to start a new life (218). On the other hand, Great Britain was a traditional and conservative land in terms of linguistic innovations. And if that were not enough, Fennell states that most of its inhabitants were not satisfied at all with their personal situations due to multiple reasons: religious conflicts and prosecution, harsh economic condition and political confrontations. Therefore, the character of both places were constructed because of these assumptions, thus emerging one of the differences between North America and England (218).

3 Colonial Lag tries to explain the linguistic differences between British and American English. According to this phenomenon, colonies (like North America) attempt to follow the linguistic traits of the motherland but due to the delay provoked by the geographical distance they developed differently from the language of their home country (British English). For further information see Nordquist.

Furthermore, due to the huge geographical distance between North America and Great Britain, both varieties developed in a linguistically different way, as noted earlier with the Colonial Lag phenomenon.

Secondly, at the time of the first period of settlement, Fennell relates that the newcomers encountered geography as well as fauna and flora completely different from the one they had seen before (218). Therefore, settlers had no other option than finding new terms to describe them, and they decided to borrow words from other languages. The result was a huge vocabulary containing new words like *skunk* and *raccoon* from Indian language; *coyote* or *canyon* from Spanish and *bayou*, or *caribou* from French (Fennell 218). In this way, the incorporation of many new words in their vocabulary made American English differentiate a little bit more from the language spoken in the British mother country.

Nevertheless, this differentiation between the two varieties of English in terms of vocabulary became bigger when the colonists started to borrow some terms from the American natives and the speakers of non-English languages not only to name the fauna and flora, but also took many words for other fields such as cooking and place names. Finegan states that there are a lot of culinary words from Spanish such as *burritos*, *guacamole*, *nachos* or *tortilla* among many, and place names that reflect the Native American influence on the English language in words like *Arkansas*, *Minnesota*, *Mississippi* or *Texas* (*American English and its distinctiveness* 21-22).

It is also important to remark on the close contact between English colonists and non-English speakers who arrived in North America either by immigration or because of colonial interests. Fennell claims that this contact with people who spoke non-English languages made possible a wide expansion of the American English vocabulary. This is because these non-English speakers brought their own culture and traditions, which allowed the spread of these new ideas in the form of lexical borrowings in order to name concepts from arts, foods and religion (219). Among these settlers and immigrants, we find many French, Dutch, German and Spanish words in the vocabulary of the American English. Moreover, Italian people also made their contribution to the addition of new loanwords (219). There are many examples of American English borrowings from these European languages. However, they will be

discussed later in another section.

Overall, the divergence of American English from British English was produced thanks to the addition of a number of loanwords and the mixture of cultures, the great social mobility towards the region of North America as well as the Colonial Lag which preserved the linguistic features of 17th century English. In this way, the variety of English which emerged was a uniform language that was spoken by most speakers in a similar way (Baugh and Cable 336-337). One of the explanations that may explain this linguistic situation can be found in the figure of Noah Webster, who contributed to the American sense of nationalism and promoted the spelling of a Standard American English.

3.4. Sense of national identity: Noah Webster

Even though there were some differences between American and British English in terms of vocabulary and some linguistic features, the speech and spelling between these two varieties were still the same. Until the eighteenth century, North America had been maintaining a close connection with the British motherland, but during the last decades an increasing tension between these two territories started to arise (Fennell 219). This happened because Americans thought that Great Britain was taking advantage of their resources and they were not giving them anything in exchange. Consequently, this hostility transformed into rebellions by Americans in such events as the Boston Tea Party⁴, and from that point on, an anti-British feeling started to emerge in the whole colony and they soon declared independence from the British Crown (Fennell 220).

After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, people of the original Thirteen Colonies argued about their way of speaking and what could identify them linguistically different from British English. The new country felt that there was a necessity of a crucial element which could unify all the people from the United States under a common national sense of American identity. The patriotism of the recently independent United States found its linguistic expression in Noah Webster (Baugh and Cable 346). He wanted to prove that English in

⁴ The Boston Tea Party was a protest made by Americans who threw a number of tea resources to the water from British ships in order to manifest against the high taxations of tea and the grant of the whole tea monopoly to the East India Company. This event was one of the main reasons that led Americans to finally claim independence from the British Crown. For further details see Augustyn et al.

America was distinctively American, claiming that now that the USA has become independent, they must take their language as their own and not belong to Great Britain any more. Through his chapter of book *English in North America*, Finegan talks about Webster's desire to make the English language in America different from that of the British Isles:

With great vigour Webster tackled the codification of American English, claiming as early as 1789 that, 'As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain... should no longer be our standard . . .' (393)

Noah Webster managed to reach this linguistic distinction by writing some books on the spelling and pronunciation of American English which achieved a highly uniformity (Baugh and Cable 350). One of his most famous spelling books was the *American Spelling Book*, generally known as the *Blue Backed Speller*. In fact, Fennell says that this book contributed to the uniformity of the English spoken all over the United States and attempted to show that the English variety in the United States was unique and distinctive from British English (220).

It has been claimed that Webster was so influential on the American spelling, and there are several changes that he himself introduced so as to make this variety to be a remarkable one. Baugh and Cable note that at the beginning Webster was not very much interested in making some innovations in spelling but thanks to Benjamin Franklin, one of the first founders of the United States, Webster was encouraged to introduce several spelling reforms in the language (349). The following reforms included the use of *or-* instead of *our-* from words such as *color*, *favor* or *neighbor*. Moreover, Webster added some other changes like the inclusion of the *-ize* in terms such as *criticize* and *liberalize*, *-se* in *defense* and *license*, and *-er* instead of *-re* as in *center* or *theater* (Finegan, *English in North America* 393).

Although these kind of replacements in the spelling seem to be insignificant and not relevant at all, it was crucial for making the English of America to be standardised throughout the whole territory. The reason for its importance is because in that way, a dialect with a unique spelling meant the distinction of that specific dialect from others, specially from British English (Fennell 222). Therefore, Noah Webster became an essential figure in the history of the United States because of his multiple changes in the American English spelling system that not only make it differentiate from the language of the British. Moreover, he

accomplished the desire of most of the citizens who belonged to the American soil, which was to give them an identity that would grant them a uniqueness from the rest of the world and made them proud of belonging to the United States of America.

For all these reasons, the English language that was once transplanted at the start of the seventeenth century was now different from the British metropolis, thus breaking all the bonds with Great Britain in all the ways possible: linguistically, politically and economically.

4. TWO TRANSPLANTED REALITIES: CONTRASTS AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN NEW ZEALAND AND AMERICAN ENGLISH

Now that we have seen how the English language travelled towards New Zealand and North America, we shall compare their situation between these two new varieties that emerged in respective locations. First of all, we are going to compare the reasons for the settlement in those places, the number of people who arrived there in the first settlements as well as the many different ethnicities of the rest of Europe and the world who were arriving later. Secondly, we will deal with the type of English which was transplanted in both territories and how they developed. Next we will cover the sense of national identity that played a crucial role in the English of New Zealand and America. Finally, we will compare the lexical condition of both varieties of English in order to show how different these varieties have changed and differed from the language of the mother country.

4.1. Settlement and Melting Pot

As we have seen in the analysis of New Zealand and American English, both settlements took place in different periods. While the American pioneers arrived in Massachusetts Bay from Great Britain at the beginning of the 17th century, the first settlements in New Zealand did not arrive until the middle of the nineteenth century with the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, although some early settlers had already arrived in the territory. The same happened in North America because even though there was a great wave of immigration in later years, there were not many newcomers when the colony of Virginia was settled in 1607. Hence, although the settlements occurred at somewhat disparate periods in

history, at the beginning of both settlements there was not much occupation at all.

Another point of comparison between the settlements in the two places was the reasons by which the inhabitants of the British Isles decided to move to these territories. It seems that the reason for this was quite similar: to escape from the problematic and difficult political, religious and economic situations that the English country was suffering at different times. We also have to take into account that there were many more people who left the British Isles in order to go to America rather than New Zealand, not only because of the settlement in different periods, but also because of its size and geographical wealth. This is because at the time of the first settlement of New Zealand, America was already seen as “a country of change, dynamism and mobility” (Fennell 218). On the contrary, New Zealand was still an unknown place and there were so many doubts regarding whether going there or not.

Moreover, it is also important to highlight that even though both destinations were far from Great Britain, it took less time to get to America than to New Zealand. Those who went to New Zealand decided to go there because they would be financially rewarded by Wakefield's New Zealand company, otherwise they would not have gone there because of its long, tiring and costly journey, among other reasons (Phillips 3). Finally, it is of utmost importance to mention that such settlements in both territories at different historical periods were of crucial linguistic relevance when comparing these two varieties of English. This is something which will be further developed in the section on the development of transplanted English in both locations.

Regarding the melting pot that was produced as a result of the settlements in North America and New Zealand until the 19th century, both places had been receiving a huge quantity of people whose origins come from the British Isles (Hay et al. 6; Finegan, *English in North America* 392). There were many people who came from England, Scotland and Ireland to these two locations, although the quantity is predominantly different when comparing North America with New Zealand. Next we are going to compare the number of people who came not only from Great Britain but also from other parts of the world to those destinations and how these mixture of cultures contributed to the formation of a different English than that of Britain.

On the one hand, the information of the table below shows what we had been commenting in the previous section as regards New Zealand's melting pot. That is to say, there were a huge number of immigrants of British origin who arrived in New Zealand. More specifically, they came from England, with a huge quantity of 120,000 people. On the other hand, we can appreciate that there was little immigration coming from other parts of the world such as Germany with almost 5,000 newcomers. This was almost the same quantity as the inhabitants from the Scandinavian countries like Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It is also of relevance to remark the appearance of Eastern immigration, specifically those from China, although it was scarce if we have to bear in mind that the distance between China and New Zealand was shorter than New Zealand with Great Britain. Phillips notes that the arrival of these non-British immigrants was due to the gold rushes that occurred in the mines of Otago during the 1860s (8), a period when New Zealand saw its peak of immigration. Last but not least, it is important to mention the quantity of migrants coming from the Australian colonies, with a 6.5% or the total immigrants and thus exceeding the number of the rest population from other parts of the world (see table 1).

Table 1

Birthplace of immigrants in the 1881 New Zealand census.⁵

Country of origin	Number (approximately)	%
England	120,000	45.0
Scotland	52,000	19.9
Ireland	49,000	18.6
Wales	2,000	0.7
Australian colonies	17,000	6.5
China	5,000	1.9
Sweden, Norway & Denmark	4,700	1.8
Germany	4,800	1.8

⁵ This table has not been copied as exactly as the one which appears in the source. The reason is because there was some information that was not too relevant when compared to Table 2.

Source: Gordon, Elizabeth, et al. *New Zealand English: Its Origins and Evolution*. Cambridge University Press, 2004, table 3.1.

With respect to the census of the United States in the 1880s, the information reveals that there were a lot of migrants whose country of origin was not only Great Britain but also they came from other countries of Europe such as Germany with the vast number of 1,900,000 people, Sweden and Norway (350,000). In addition, the information below demonstrates the Chinese attraction for America with a total of 75,000 newcomers from the East. It is also significant the presence of Mexican people in the United States due to the annexation of Texas to the American country, even though the number of these ethnic groups was very little when being compared to the rest of migrants. Concerning the people from Britain, Irish migrants (1,800,000) greatly outnumbered the immigrant populations of England, Wales and Scotland together (see table 2).

Table 2

Birthplace of immigrants in the 1880 United States census.⁶

Country of origin	Number (approximately)	%
England/ Wales	700,000	13.9
Scotland	163,000	3.2
Ireland	1,800,000	35.7
Germany	1,900,000	37.7
China	75,000	1.5
Sweden & Norway	350,000	6.9
Mexico	52,000	1.0

Source: data extracted from Finegan, Edward. "English in North America." *A History of the English Language*, edited by Richard Hogg and David Denison, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 392.

⁶ The information that appears in this table has been compiled from the page of the source cited below the aforementioned table. The percentages have been made by own production.

Comparing the two tables with regard to the number of immigrants in both territories, we can observe that in the 1880 Census of the United States (just like almost the same year as in the case of New Zealand census) the quantity of immigrants whose birthplace was not America but overseas belonged mostly to the British Isles, as in the case of New Zealand. However, we have to bear in mind a couple of things: the first one is that this time it is the Irish the ones who have a major presence in American soil, unlike the people from England in New Zealand. And the second and most important thing is that we are able to perceive that the number of migrants not only from Anglo-Saxon countries but also from other parts of the world far exceeded the number of people who arrived in New Zealand in the 1880s.

The demographic gap between these two places was enormous when we see that the number of German-born in America (1,900,000) is more than the total population of New Zealand at the end of the 19th century which was half a million. Even so, we have to consider that this British colony was probably the British possession which barely had fifty years of settlement, whereas America has been receiving several waves of migrants for almost 300 years. Despite the wide demographic difference between these two territories, there are similar ethnic groups who went to both New Zealand and North America as in the case of Germans, Chinese and those from the Scandinavian countries such as Sweden and Norway.

Another difference that marks these varieties of English with respect to the mixture of cultures and its influence is at a lexical level. On the one hand, American English benefited from and innovated thanks to the loanwords from other European and Oriental languages as well as those of the native Americans (Fennell 219). Additionally, the influence of those countries of Europe and the Far East was such that they managed to introduce their customs, food, religion and traditions in order to make North America a dynamic country, thus separating it from the conservative character of Great Britain. On the other hand, due to the little occupation of non-British immigrants in New Zealand, they had no other option than getting accustomed to the traditions and beliefs of those people from the British Isles who settled in the new British colony. However, we will see that this variety of English somehow will benefit from both Maori loanwords and Australianisms as well as a later influence from Americanisms which enriched its vocabulary.

4.2. Origins and development of the new varieties of English

New Zealand and American English are two varieties whose linguistic characteristics have developed differently one from the other. However, we are able to observe that the English language which was transplanted to these respective territories share the same origin or, at least, a common English dialect. On the one hand, we have already mentioned that the majority of early English settlers who travelled to American soil were from the South-East of England (Fennell 210) and established the basis for the American English. On the other hand, some scholars reached a conclusion where they agreed that New Zealand English owed its roots to the Southern English dialect (Bauer 391; Gordon et al. 256). Hence, we can say that the origins of the transplanted English in both New Zealand and North America had a common source: the South-East of England.

Even though the roots of both transplanted languages shared the same geographical location within the British Isles, the linguistic features of that English dialect were different in each colony due to the periods when the settlement of both places took place. While the English that was carried to America in the seventeenth century still preserved its rhoticity and other traits of the language until the eighteenth century (Baugh and Cable 340), the transplanted English to New Zealand had already developed into a non-rhotic language by the nineteenth century. In this way, we are talking about two varieties which geographically come from the same place but diachronically they do not. New Zealand English variety contains some linguistic traits of the Standard British speech that developed during the end of the 18th century. American English, in contrast, preserved archaic features like the rhoticity of the 17th and early 18th Centuries that were already obsolete in Great Britain (Baugh and Cable 340). Hence, their linguistic qualities are not the same because American English is rhotic whereas New Zealand is non-rhotic, a significant characteristic which defines the variety of English spoken in a certain location.

Despite this linguistic gap between American and New Zealand English, one similarity that both varieties share is that there are exceptions (regional variations) as regards the pronunciation or non-pronunciation of the /r/ sound in both places. With respect to the American territory, although most of its speakers had a clear tendency to pronounce the /r/

after a vowel, in some parts of the Virginia, New England and South Carolina settlement there were cases in which a number of colonists did not pronounce that consonant (Fennell 212-213). This outcome, as Fennell notes, was due to the fact that the pioneers “usually maintained their ties with England for a long time” (213). Therefore, the American colonists fell under the British influence and its non-rhoticity which was developed by the end of the 18th century. As a result, we can still perceive such an impact on non-rhotic speaking in zones like New York City and Charleston (213).

As for New Zealand, in the vast majority of the territory it is spoken with a clear non-rhoticity, except for some parts of the Southland region and the city of Otago where the pronunciation of the /r/ at the end of the word or after the vowel has been preserved. According to Gordon et al., this is due to the influence of Scottish speakers who were the ones who mostly occupied the southern part of the island, and whose influence through its rhoticity in New Zealand English receives the name of “Southland burr” (70-71).

Overall, the retention of old linguistic features in the American English such as the rhoticity highlights both its archaism and distancing from the English that continued transforming itself during the next centuries in Great Britain. This development of the British English through its non-rhoticity can be found in the English language that would be spoken in New Zealand.

4.3. Nationhood

The role of nationalisms in New Zealand and North America played a crucial role which marked their relationship with the British metropolis. A first point of similarity between the American and New Zealand territories was the appearance of historical figures who represented these two colonies in order to determine the way of each nation. Such figures were John Ballance in the case of New Zealand’s nationhood and Noah Webster so as to speak for the increase of American patriotism. Another trait of similarity between these nationalist representatives is that both epitomised those citizens who started to show a feeling of belonging to their respective territories and claiming for independence as well as recognition of a nation.

However, a very important point of contrast between these two rising nations lies in the fact that they wanted to claim independence from the British metropolis. On the one hand, even though New Zealand wished to gain independence from the Australia Federation at the end of the nineteenth century not taking part in such a federation, the colony desired to maintain its bonds with Great Britain, despite the fact that New Zealand achieved a self-governing dominion. This position of mutual support with the British Crown can be seen in a John Ballance's speech. He stated that, although New Zealand was starting to get a sense of nationalism, they wanted to keep counting on Great Britain's aid, as Gordon et al. quote from Sinclair:

We have been an individualised nation, and we should keep up our identity and nationality. I think we ought to have a nationality, and that New Zealand should be a country for New-Zealanders. With the wings of Great Britain over us we need look to no other country or colony for protection... (62)

On the other hand, American colonists wanted to separate from Great Britain since they were so annoyed that the British were taking advantage of their benefits that they produced without giving anything in exchange (Fennell 219). Webster represented all the American citizens who stood up for claiming linguistic, political and economic independence from the British Parliament. Fennell states that he wanted to prove through the multiple reforms he underwent in the English language of America that English in America was identifiably American. Moreover, Webster asserted that now that the USA has become independent, they must take their language as their own and not belong to Great Britain any more. In addition, he stated that the language of the latter was in decline and even if it was not, was still too far from the model of the American language (220). In this way, after the Declaration of Independence, the United States broke all ties with its former mother country thus becoming an autonomous and proud nation.

Hence, while the United States gained full independence from the British Crown at the end of the 18th century with Webster as its figure of separation between American English and British English and a linguistic standard of American English, New Zealand claimed its independence to an extent. This outcome resulted from the willing to keep preserving a close relationship with the motherland rather than with its neighbour Australia. These bonds

between New Zealand and Great Britain are maintained nowadays thanks to the Commonwealth of Nations⁷, an institution whose members (New Zealand among many) still recognise the British crown (concretely the current Queen Elizabeth II) as head of this political and economic organisation.

4.4. Vocabulary and lexical borrowings

An evident way of comparison between American English and New Zealand English as well as to discern the distancing of these two varieties from British English is through the acquisition of loanwords from other languages to their vocabulary. A first similarity between both varieties can be found in the difficulties that both early settlers had to face at the beginning of their settlement. They somehow encountered the same problem: they came across new geographical features as well as fauna and flora not seen before. As a result, both groups of early immigrants had to add new terms in order to describe them. In both cases, they borrowed words from the native groups that had been living for many years before these English pioneers came to respective places. In the case of the early settlers who arrived in America, they borrowed words from the Native Indians such as *skunk*, *raccoon* and *woodchuck* (Finegan, *American English and its distinctiveness* 22) among many to name the unknown fauna of the place. On the other hand, early immigrants in New Zealand borrowed words from Maori tribes like “tree-names *kōwhai*, *pōhutukawa* [...] and *ngaio*; the bird-names *kiwi*, *tūī*, *kākā*, *kea*, [...] the reptile name *tuatara* and the insect *wētā*” (Warren 91).

However, while the years were passing by, it was the English language of America, the one which finally enriched its lexicon in a more wide way. This is largely due to the huge number of new immigrants from other non-English countries who arrived in America along with their culture and language and mingled with the American colonists (Fennell 219). In this way, American English has been lexically benefiting from these European and non-European languages between the pre-independence and post-independence period. Finegan notes that the English language of America had borrowed so many words from French as in *butte*, *bayou* and place names like *Louisiana* or *Vermont*; and from Dutch as we can see in the terms

⁷ The Commonwealth of Nations is a political organisation formed by 54 independent and semi-independent countries which share historical bonds with Great Britain, since most of these affiliates used to belong to the British Empire. The main goal of this association is the international cooperation between these members in political and economic fields. For further information see: thecommonwealth.org/.

cookie or *boss* (*American English and its distinctiveness* 22). Moreover, American pioneers also took words from German as in *delicatessen*, *semester* or *seminar*, as well as from Spanish, which was probably the highest source of borrowings from this variety of English. Finegan states that among these Spanish borrowings we can include terms such as *alfalfa*, *mesquite*, *yucca*, *armadillo*, *chile con carne*, *enchilada*, *frijole*, *sierra*, *mesa* or *arroyo*; and other diverse terms like *tornado*, *siesta* or *temblor* (*English in North America* 395). As for the influence from other languages to the American English lexicon we must highlight the appearance of words like *voodoo* or *juke* from the languages of the West African slaves; *spaghetti* or *ravioli* from Italian; and other words like *chow mein* and *chop suey* from Chinese (*English in North America* 395-396).

On the other hand, New Zealand English vocabulary was only able to borrow words from the Maori tribes like the ones we have already seen, some Australianisms and later in the 20th century it received the influence of Americanisms. Firstly, we have to keep in mind that Maori loanwords were borrowed to name the wide majority of the geography of the territory. However, all these words did not become part of General English, just a few of them, as in the case of *Kiwi* (flightless bird or the fruit) or *Haka* (War Chant). In this sense, although there were not many words in the general vocabulary of English, there is a huge influence from the Maori language in this variety of English. The reason for this is because there are several words that are used normally in multiple contexts by New Zealand inhabitants which would not be found in any other English-speaking country. Bauer relates in his chapter of book *English in New Zealand* the impact of Maori language on New Zealand English:

Certainly it is the case that New Zealand English is characterised by a relatively high number of words of Maori origin, but this is largely because such words refer to things which are found predominantly in New Zealand. (402)

Some of the words which are exclusively from New Zealand English include Maori terms for flora such as *toitoti* (pampas grass) or *raupo* (bulrush); fishes also receive Maori names like in *kahawai* and *warehou* (Bauer, *English in New Zealand* 403-404). We also find words for Maori buildings as in *whare* (house) or *waka* (canoe); *hui* (meeting) and *tangi* (funeral) for cultural and social events as well as terms for denoting people like the famous *pakeha*, or New Zealander of European origin (Bauer, *English in New Zealand* 405).

Secondly, New Zealand English also borrowed words from Australian English mainly because of the close geographical distance between these two places and because of sharing the same predominant language. Among some Australianisms we have to remark terms such as *cooee* (a call to gain attention), *cobber* (mate), *bellbird* or *cabbage tree* (Bauer, *English in New Zealand* 407-408).

Lastly, Vine claims that “New Zealand English has its origins in British English and the lexicon of New Zealand English (NZE) has [...] a strong British influence” (13). And even though much of the terms in New Zealand English are based on British English, at the end of the twentieth century New Zealand began to acquire some terms coming from the United States. Nevertheless, there has been an historical rejection of American borrowings by New Zealanders, just like the case of Great Britain whose inhabitants were reluctant to adopt new American terms until recently. As Bauer notes, “there exists in New Zealand (as in Britain) an anti-American linguistic chauvinism” (417). He also relates that even though there is no exact explanation for this linguistic denial, there is a normal and frequent use of Americanisms in New Zealand English (409).

In this way, Warren claims that while British speakers use the term *silencer* of a car, Americans and New Zealanders prefer the word *muffler*. On the one hand, instead of saying *lorry* in British English, *truck* is the term used by American and New Zealand English. On the other hand British people use *estate car*, whereas in America and New Zealand their speakers prefer the term *station wagon* (92). Apart from that, “NZE prefers AmE *stove* to BrE *cooker*, AmE *hardware store* to BrE *ironmonger* [...]” (Warren 92). Furthermore, New Zealand vocabulary also accepted words like *guy* and preferred to use terms like *elevator* rather than the British English *lift*, and *movie* instead of *film*. Finally, Vine states that although there is a change from British to American words, there are some other British terms that are not replaced, as it is the case of British English *torch* and *biscuit* which are used rather than their American English synonyms *flashlight* and *cookie* (13).

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to compare the way in which the English language was transplanted in both New Zealand and America by means of a diachronic study with regard to settlement and melting pot. Moreover, we also aimed to contrast the origins and development of each variety of English established as well as the rise of nationalism in these two territories. With respect to the settlement carried out until the nineteenth century, we have been able to observe that although both settlements were carried out at different periods, the number of early settlers at the beginning was scarce not only in New Zealand but also in North America. Nevertheless, there were many who went to America due to the difficult situation of religious, economic and political conflicts in the 17th century England. On the other hand, the British people who decided to go to New Zealand did so because of the economic rewards they would be given by Wakefield's New Zealand Company, otherwise these early settlers were reluctant to go to a place yet unknown and far away from Great Britain. In this sense, while North America which was seen as the land of opportunities and economic wealth started to receive an increasing number of immigrants, New Zealand welcomed a minor quantity of migrants which increased thanks to the discovery of the gold mines. The final outcome is that by the 1880s the United States already had approximately 50 million inhabitants whereas New Zealand's population was only half-a million. Despite the vast demographic difference, it is important to emphasise that the United States possesses a huge land while New Zealand is a relatively small island which cannot afford such enormous quantities of people.

Regarding the origins of the immigrants who arrived in New Zealand and North America, the majority of them came from the British Isles. However, there were many who were non-British and went to North America in huge waves of immigration. Moreover, other Non-English speakers had already established and mingled with the American colonists. The result was, as it has been observed in the section dealing with the lexicon, an American vocabulary which was enriched and diversified thanks to the lexical borrowings from several languages such as Spanish, German, French, Dutch, West African, Chinese, Native Americans as well as Yiddish. In contrast, New Zealand only received a small quantity of Non-British immigrants (Chinese, Chinese, Sweden, Norway and Denmark) who arrived mainly due to the gold rushes. The little presence of these non-British immigrants supposed a non-existent

influence of their culture in both the British settlers' culture and New Zealand English vocabulary. Therefore, this variety of English benefited mostly from the Maori tribes and Australianisms. In this way, we can see that although American lexical borrowings were bigger than New Zealand's, the loanwords of this second variety were more unique and exotic.

As for the origins and the development of the English transplanted in the two territories, we have reached to the conclusion that the English which was carried to New Zealand and America came from the same place of England: the South-East. However, even though the English of these two varieties coincide geographically, it does not coincide diachronically, because the south-eastern English dialect that was carried to New Zealand and America had different linguistic traits depending on the epoch. Thus, while the English of the 17th century transplanted to North America contained rhoticity and other linguistic features, this Southern dialect had already developed into non-rhotic by the 19th century and it was carried to New Zealand. However, we find that there are exceptions to the rhoticity and non-rhoticity of these varieties as the cases of /r/-less in certain places of North America and "Southland burr" in New Zealand. Last but not least, we have been able to appreciate that both places developed a sense of national identity and claimed their acknowledgement as independent nations. Additionally, there were historical figures who represented these nationalist ideals such as Noah Webster for the American homeland and John Ballance who spoke for those New Zealanders and their nationalist desire.

This comparison between New Zealand and American English leads us to the other purpose of this paper which was to determine how far these territories and its varieties distanced themselves from the model of the British Isles which once settled in both places. On a lexical level, we have been able to observe through the analysis of the vocabulary of New Zealand and American English that both varieties differ as regards their lexicons. This is because these varieties possess a unique vocabulary. While American English has got a wide range of terms borrowed from Indian Natives, European and Eastern languages, New Zealand English contains an exotic and singular lexicon thanks to the Maori loanwords as well as Australianisms. On a linguistic level, however, we have observed that New Zealand English is the most similar to British English when conserving the non-rhoticity whereas American

English retained some archaic features of 17th century South-East English as the case of the rhoticity.

On a political level, although it arose a sense of nationhood in New Zealand and became a self-governing dominion independent from Australia, this territory continued to maintain economic and political relations with Great Britain. Currently, these bonds remain intact since New Zealand is part of the Commonwealth of Nations whose main head of the organisation is Elizabeth II, Queen of England. On the contrary, The United States broke down its ties with Britain because of trade, economic and political disagreements between American colonists and the British parliament. This provoked an anti-British feeling which led to the Declaration of Independence in 1776. After the independence, the new American country also distanced itself from the language of the metropolis through the figure of Webster and his reforms in the American English language. Hence, we can conclude that while the American English distanced itself from the model of Great Britain at all levels (lexical, linguistic and political), New Zealand is still connected to the British model in a linguistic and political level.

We would also like to remark on the appearance of Americanisms in New Zealand English vocabulary at the end of the 20th century. Apparently, this would mean a distancing from Great Britain and thus an approximation to the American trend. However, these American loanwords in New Zealand lexicon are just to show the current cultural and social life of New Zealanders towards the US. This trend of Americanisms is something that is also happening in Great Britain in the last decades, and occurs because of the linguistic power and influence of the American nation thanks to its huge demographic dimension of English speakers. In this way, many Anglo-Saxon languages are being tolerant when adapting new vocabulary from American English. Hence, it would be interesting to carry out further research on the recent use of Americanisms in New Zealand because this country could somehow be suffering a re-transplantation of the English. This time would be the American English due to its overwhelming linguistic and lexical influence through social media, TV programmes or series that younger New Zealand generations are consuming currently, thus adapting to both the vocabulary and pronunciation of the English which come from the United States.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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